

Message Text

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51

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 129521

O P 121750Z FEB 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2415

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0031

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTERS SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 12, 1975
(SALT TWO-515)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF FEBRUARY 12, 1975.

QUOTE:

IN ITS STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 6, THE USSR DELEGATION
NOTED THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS, WITH A DURATION UNTIL THE END OF 1985,
MUST CONTAIN A COMPLEX OF LIMITATIONS WHICH IN THEIR
TOTALITY MUST ENSURE THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT BE IN ACCORD
WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. BY WAY
OF CONTINUING TO SET FORTH ITS CONSIDERATIONS ON THE DRAFT
AGREEMENT UNDER DISCUSSION, THE SOVIET DELEGATION
TODAY INTENDS TO ADDRESS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT
QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS

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PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, NAMELY-- LIMITATIONS

ON LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

IN YOUR STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 4, YOU, MR AMBASSADOR, NOTED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE USSR AND THE US SOUGHT FOR MANY YEARS TO ESTABLISH NOT ONLY QUANTITATIVE, BUT ALSO QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS THE SOVIET SIDE HAS ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THIS QUESTION. AS EARLY AS THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIET SIDE RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE NEED TO CONSIDER AND RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS AND, IN PARTICULAR, LIMITATIONS ON MRV/MIRVS. IN VIENNA, HELSINKI AND GENEVA THE USSR DELEGATION EMPHASIZED THAT THIS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM OF CURBING THE RACE IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS MERITS SERIOUS ATTENTION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS. THE SOVIET SIDE SUBMITTED APPROPRIATE CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS. AT THAT TIME, HOWEVER, THE SIDES WERE UNABLE TO RECONCILE THEIR POSITIONS.

THE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THIS QUESTION, WHICH WAS FOUND BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES DURING THE SUMMIT MEETING IN VLADIVOSTOK IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MAIN PROVISIONS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FOR THE PERIOD UNTIL THE END OF 1985, ATTRACTED WORLDWIDE ATTENTION. IT WAS ESTABLISHED THAT DURING THE TERM OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BOTH SIDES WOULD BE ENTITLED TO HAVE EQUAL AGREED AGGREGATE NUMBERS OF SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. IT WAS AGREED THAT THIS AGGREGATE NUMBER WOULD NOT EXCEED 1,320 UNITS. WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THAT NUMBER THE SIDES CAN DETERMINE FOR THEMSELVES THE TYPES AND NUMBERS OF MISSILE LAUNCHERS EQUIPPED WITH SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES.

THE SOLUTION THE GOVERNMENTS FOUND TO THE QUESTION OF LIMITING THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES TO EQUAL MAXIMUM LEVELS FOR THE SIDES, NOT TO EXCEED 1,320 UNITS, IS ONE OF THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE AGREEMENT. IT INDICATES MOVEMENT IN THE AREA OF QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS

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ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND IS OF SUBSTANTIAL IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF ENHANCING THE VIABILITY OF THE AGREEMENT. THE FACT THAT THE AFOREMENTIONED PROVISIONS WILL CONSTITUTE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE NEW AGREEMENT UNDOUBTEDLY INCREASES ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN OVERALL POLITICAL TERMS AS WELL. VIEWED IN THE TOTALITY OF THE OBLIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR, THE NEW AGREEMENT UNDOUBTEDLY WILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF EXERCISING RESTRAINT

IN THE DEPLOYMENT OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND WILL CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING STRATEGIC STABILITY.

ARTICLE V OF THE DRAFT UNDER CONSIDERATION EMBODIES THE SOLUTION, AGREED BETWEEN THE SIDES, TO THE QUESTION OF LIMITING LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVs. THE DRAFTING OF THE ARTICLE WAS DRAFTED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF THIS PROVISION WITH THE OTHER LIMITATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT AND MEETS THE REQUIREMENT OF CLEAR AND PRECISE PRESENTATION.

THE PROVISIONS WRITTEN INTO THE ARTICLE ARE FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THE QUESTION OF LIMITING SLBM LAUNCHERS AND LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES. WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT ALL THIS PROVIDES THE BASIS FOR THE PRACTICAL PROCESS OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THIS ARTICLE.

MR AMBASSADOR,

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS EXAMINED, IN A PRELIMINARY WAY, THE US DELEGATION'S STATEMENT AT THE MEETING OF FEBRUARY 10. WE BELIEVE THAT IT CONTAINS ELEMENTS WHICH MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO GAIN A SOMEWHAT BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE VIEWS OF THE US SIDE ON SOME ASPECTS INVOLVED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT. AS FAR AS WE CAN JUDGE, A COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS IS BECOMING APPARENT ON SOME QUESTIONS.

HOWEVER, WITHOUT GOING INTO A DETAILED ANALYSIS AT THIS TIME, WE WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT MUCH STILL REMAINS UNCLEAR TO US CONCERNING THE POSITION OF THE US SIDE ON THE QUESTIONS YOU ADDRESSED, AND WE ANTICIPATE THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE YOU WILL COVER THEM IN GREATER DETAIL.

MR AMBASSADOR,

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WE TOOK NOTE OF THAT PART OF THE US DELEGATION'S STATEMENT WHICH REFERS TO AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING, AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS ARE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED, AND WILL BE COUNTED IN THE OVERALL AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY SYSTEMS FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS. AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS ARE AN EFFECTIVE DELIVERY SYSTEM FOR STRATEGIC WEAPONS, REGARDLESS OF TYPE OF TRAJECTORY. THERE ARE, THEREFORE, NO GROUNDS WHATSOEVER FOR DRAWING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILOMETERS. THEREFORE, WHEN BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED WITH AIR TO SURFACE MISSILES OF ANY TYPE WITH A RANGE OF MORE THAN 600 KILO-

METERS, EACH SUCH MISSILE MUST BE COUNTED AS ONE UNIT IN
THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF 2,400 UNITS. THE WORKING OF
ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT UNDER CONSIDERATION IS
FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE UNDERSTANDING RECORDED IN THE
AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974. UNQUOTE. JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, ARMS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00031
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750051-0310
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750250/aaaabsle.tel
Line Count: 174
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <07 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEPUTY MINISTERS SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF FEBRUARY 12, 1975 (SALT TWO-515)
TAGS: PARM
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006